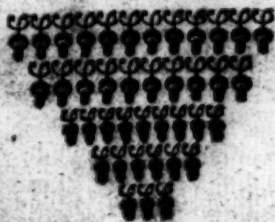


M<sup>r</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>. JOHNS  
**SPEECH**  
**TO THE LORDS**  
**IN THE VPPER**

House of PARLIAMENT  
*January 7. 1640.*

CONCERNING  
**SHIP-MONEY.**

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*Printed Anno 1641.*

W. JOHNSON  
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Mr. S<sup>r</sup>. JOHN S.

# ARGVMENTS

## CONCERNING

### SHIP-MONEY.

MY LORDS,

**T**HE KNIGHTS, Citizens, and Burgesſes, of the Commons Houſe, have intruſted mee with a meſſage to your Lordſhips, of a generall and high concernement, ſo generall, that the whole body of the Kingdome, both Peeres and People, are intereſted in it, of ſo high a conſequence, as that there is nothing that can concerne us nearer.

It's one of the *Grandia Regni*, ſo great, as that I ſhall not need to preſent it to your Lordſhips in a multiplying Glaſſe, it will appeare too bigge in its owne dimensions.

2. Its not that Shipmoney hath beene levied upon us, but its that right whereby Shipmoney is claymed, which if it be true, is such, as that it makes the payment of Shipmoney the gift and earnest penny of all we have.

Its not that our persons have beene imprisoned for payment of Ship-mony, but that our persons & as it is conceived your lives too, are upon the same grounds of Law, delivered up to bare will and pleasure.

Its that our birth-right, our Ancestral-right, our condition of continuing Free-subjects, is lost, that of late there hath beene an endeavour to reduce us to the state of villainage, nay to a lower.

Its true, the Lord might taxe his villaine *De haute & de basse*, might take all his lands and goods, the villaine had no property against the Lord, the villaine he could not *Ire quo voluit*, hee had no liberty of person, the Lord might imprison him at his pleasure, but the villaines life was his owne, and not his Lords, the Law secured him that. But my Lords, as the Law stands now declared, its disputable, whether it doth so much for us.

My Lords, the subject of this Message is, to present the sence of the Commons to your Lord-ships; That the Lawes of the Realme instituted at first, and freely assented unto, and chosen by their Ancestors for the preservation of themselves and us their descendants, in our persons



persons, lives and estates, have bin of late intrusted unto such hands, as have endeavoured to force upon them a contrary end to that, for which they were ordained, from defensive to turne them to offensive, and in stead of protecting us, to make the Lawes the instrument of taking from us all wee have; Those carriages which have produced this sence of the Commons, I am commanded at this present to declare to your Lordships.

They are certaine extrajudiciall opinions delivered by the Judges at severall times, the one in November, 1635. The other a yeere after in February 1636.

The Ship-writs that have issued to all the Countiees of *England*, for these many yeares last past without intermission: The principall thing in these writs which I am to present to your Lordships, is not the charge and burthen which hath beene thereby imposed upon the subjects, though that bee great, but the declarations in them of the Law, and of the right whereby this burthen may be imposed.

The last is, that Judgement in Master *Hampdens* case in the Exchequer upō these Shipwrits.

My Lords, the two last, that is, the Ship-writ, and the Judgement, because they are very long, I am onely to open them without reading, and to deliver them to your Lordships; the other two I am to reade them, and then to deliver them to your Lordships.

## Ship-mony.

*The first opinion in November 1635. was read  
as followeth.*

**I** Am of opinion, that as where the benefite doth more particularly redound to the good of the Ports or maritime Parts, as in case of Piracie or depredations upon the Seas, there the charge hath beene, and may be lawfully imposed upon them according to precedents of former times, so where the good and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdome in danger, (of which his Majestie is the onely Judge) there the charge of the defence ought to be borne by al the Realme in generall: this I hold agreeable both to Law and reason.

My Lords, these opinions were delivered by the Judges severally and apart, they were procured by the solicitation of my Lord *Finch*; The Judges as hee severally procured their hands, were by him enjoyned secrecy accordingly, these opinions walked in the darke for a yeare and upwards: afterwards the procurer of them, my Lord *Finch*, liked them so well, as that he presumed to deliver them to his Majestie. By his procurement, a Letter was directed from his Majestie to the Judges for the delivery of their opinions in these, and some other

other additionals. The former that hath beene read is more modest, its onely that his Majestie is the sole Judge of the danger, and that the Island as well as the Maritime Townes are chargeable to the defence of the Kingdome.

Its not declared in these, that this charge may be imposed by his Majestie alone, for the expression is onely, that the charge may lawfully be imposed, but not by whom.

*In the other opinions they proceed a malo ad pejus and speake plaine English, which follows in hæc verba.*

*Charles Rex.*

*The Case.*

**W**Hen the good, and the Case and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdome in danger, whether may not the King by writ under the Great Seale of *England*, Command all the Subjects in this Kingdome at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victuals, and munition; and for such time as hee shall thinke fit for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdome, from such danger and perill, and by Law compell the doing thereof in case of refusall or refractorinesse, and whether in such case, is not the King the sole Judge, both of the danger, and when, and how, the same is to be prevented and avoyded?

*C. R.*

*Judges*

**M**AY it please your most Excellent Majesty, we have according to your Majesties Command, severally, and every man by himselfe, and all of us together taken into serious consideration, the Case and questions signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your Royall Letter, and wee are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the Kingdome in generall is concerned, and the whole Kingdome is in danger, your Majesty may by writ under the great Scale of *England*, command all the subjects of this your Kingdome at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships, with men, victuall and munition, and for such times as your Majesty shall thinke fit, for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdome, from such danger and perill: And that by Law your Majesty may compell the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractorinesse; And wee are also of opinion, that in such case your Majesty is the sole Judge, both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to bee prevented and avoyded.

These opinions were subscribed by all the Judges, in Serjeants Inne hall, they were afterwards published in the Starre Chamber, that the subjects might take notice of them, and that

that they might never be forgotten, they are enrolled in all the Courts of Westminster Hall, in perpetuam Remembrance: Your Lordships will be pleased to give me leave to repeat them in their plaine and legall sense, which I conceive to be thus.

That his Majesty, as often as himselfe pleaseth, may declare that the Kingdome is in danger, That so often, for prevention of such danger, His Majesty by his Writ, under the great Seal of England, may alter the property of the Subjects goods, without their consent in Parliament, and that in such proportions, as his Majesty shall thinke fit, and besides the altering of the property of their goods, for the prevention of such danger, may deprive them of the liberty of their persons, and of their lives, and that in such manner as himselfe shall please.

1. The first of these (viz) that his Majesty may declare the danger, as often as he pleaseth, is made good in these words, that the King is the sole Judge of the danger, and when the same is to be prevented and avoided.

2. The second, That so often hee may alter the property of the Subjects goods, without consent in Parliament, in these words; That his Majestie may, by writ under the Seal of England, command and compell all the Subjects of the Realm, as their charge, to provide and furnish ships.

3. That

3. That this may be in what proportion his Majesty shall please in these words; that his Majesty may command them to provide & furnish such number of Ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as his Majesty shall think fit.

4. The last (viz.) that which concernes our persons in these two clauses.

1. That his Majesty in case of refractorinesse may compell the doing of it, this compulsion in case of refractorinesse, includes the person as well as the estate: Nay, it sounds more in the personalliry then otherwise. For the other, viz. whether this personall compulsion may extend so far as to life, I humbly leave it to your Lordships considerations, upon the other Clause; That is, that his Majesty is the sole Iudge of such danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented, whether the words, how it is to bee prevented, in this case of personall compulsion, doth not leave the manner of it wholly in his Majesties breast.

My Lords, if these opinions extend onely to Ship-money, it is enough his Majesty takes what he will, and when hee will, if all be taken to day, and afterwards by discent or my owne labour I get a new stocke, or livelyhood, that is no more mine then the former, so that there is no property left unto the subject, though the opinions goe no further. But my Lords, Ship-money is not the whole extent of them, Ship-money by these opinions



opinions is not due by any peculiarity, in Ship-money : but Ship-money is therefore due , because his Majesty is the sole Iudge of the danger of the Kingdome, and when, and how the same is to be prevented, because his Majesty for the defence of the Kingdome, may at his will and pleasure charge the people, this is the ground ; and upon the same reason the compulsion may be as well for the making and maintaining of Castles, Forts and Bulwarks, making of Bridges, for transporting his Armies, for provision of wages and victuals, for Souldiers, for horses, and Carriages, it may be multiplied in infinitum.

It may be done when the good and safety of the Kingdome is concerned , this extends to all things and at all times, *Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat.*

If these opinions be Law , I humbly leave it to your Lordships considerations, whither the Government be not *Imperium legibus solutum* ; The next thing I shall offer to your Lordships, is the Ship-Writs, a transcript of one of them directed to the *Sheriffe of Dorsetshire*, I shall deliver, all the rest being of the same forme: because that Writ is long, I shall open it briefly, it's to this effect.

There is a Declaration in it that *Salus Regni periclitabatur*, that the safety of the Kingdome was in danger.



Therefore the Inhabitants of the severall Counties are commanded for the defence of the Kingdome, for the custody of the Seas, for the safeguard of the Marchants from Pyrates inward and outward, that they should provide a ship of Warre, furnished with Gunnes, Gun-powder, double Tackle, and all other necessities; and this ship thus furnished at a day set, to be brought to Portsmouth, to be provided for a weekes of Mariners wages, vittuals, and other necessities, and for the doing of this, authority is given to the Sheriffes of the severall Counties, to assesse every of the Inhabitants, *Secundum statum et facultatem suam*, according to their estates and meanes, and further power given him by distraining and setting of the Distresse to levy these monies *Si contrariis in eueritis, tunc to imprison the in persons*; and further declares, that all this may be done, *Secundum Legem et consuetudinem Regni*; The sense I conceive is briefly thus. That by the Lawes of the Kingdome, when his Majesty shall declare that the Kingdome is in danger, he may alter the property of the Subjects goods, and imprison their persons, nay, that not onely his Majesty, but the Sheriffer may imprison their persons; by the Law the Lord might imprison his villany, but could not transerre that power to his Bayliffe, or to any other, it was personall; That the Execution of this power over the persons of the subjects, hath gone no further then thei

their imprisonment, whether therein we be not wholly beholding to his *Majesties* grace and goodnesse, and nothing at all to the opinions of *Judges*, I leave it to your Lordships considerations,

The last thing is, the *Judgement* in the *Exchequer*, in the 13. Yeare of his now *Majesties* Raigne, against Master *Hampden*, the *Record* is very long, I shall briefly open it to your Lordships, *Quarto August, 11. Caroli*, there issued *Ship-writs* to the severall Counties, amongst the rest to the County of *Bucks*, the *Sheriffe* assessed the inhabitants; some of them made default, and did not pay upon a *certiorari* out of the *Chancery*, directed to the *Sheriffe*, he certifies the persons that made default, together with the *Summons* assessed upon them. From the *Chancery* by *Mittimus*, These *Certificates* were sent into the *Exchequer*, to the intent *Proces* might issue against the defaulters. A *stire facis* issued to the *Sheriffe* of *Bucks*, who thereupon amongst other *Returnes*, that Master *Hampden* hath bin assessed 20. shillings for some Lands in *Stoke-mandevile* in that County, which he had not paid, Master *Hampden* appeared, and upon his appearance demands *O T E R* of the *Ship-writs*, and the other proceedings, after his hearing thereof and understanding the contents, he demures in Law, that is, demands the judgement and opinion of the *Judges*, whether this

WRIT

Writ was sufficient in law, and to force him to pay the said 20. shillings.

This being a great and generall case, the Barons of the *Exchequer* desired the assistance of the rest of the *Iudges*, who did joyne accordingly. The case came to be argued, there were foure Arguments, two on Master *Hampdens* side, and two on the other side, the first was in *Michaelmas Terme*, after *Altholantide*, and all the foure Arguments were speeded before *Christmas* day, two of them in the *Terme*, and no longer time would be procured for the rest, but the short vacation betweene *Michaelmas Terme* and *Christmas*, it was a Case of so little concernment, that whereas in *westminster Hall*, *Terme* after *Terme* is usually given to Argue any *demurrer*, this must be argued betwixt *Altholantide* and *Christmas* throughout, after the Arguments the Counsell on both sides were commanded to bring before the Iudges the *Records* and *Authorities* cited, they were brought, and for the ease of the Iudges, many of them on Master *Hampdens* part were abbreviated on the back sides, those abbreviations were commanded to bee expounded; afterwards the Case came to Argument at the Bench, there the case was judged, and by the greater part of the Iudges judgement was given against Master *Hampden*; when the Iudges had delivered their Opinions, it was the Barons part to give judgment, the judgement was, *Quod separabilia*

*rabilia brevia prædicta. Et return. eorundem. ac Schedulum prædict. eisdem annex. ac materia in eisdem content. suffecerit in lege existens. ad præfatum Ioannem Hampden de prædict. viginti solidis super ipsum in forma et ex causa prædict. assessis onerand. Ideo consideratum est per eosdem Baron. quod prædictus Iohannes Hampden de eisdem viginti solidis oneratum ex inde satis faciat.*

My Lords, this judgement is a full and plenary execution of the former opinions of the *Judges*, and of the *Ship-writs*, for so much as it concerns our propriety ; It was given in *M. Hampdens* case onely ; but binds all the Subjects: for so binding, it is as that an Honourable person, now in my eye, in a case depending in the Kings Bench, was denyed any argument or debate, concerning the right of Ship-money, for no other reason, but that it had bin by the former judgement adjudged already in the *Chequer*.

My Lords, these extra-judiciall opinions of the *Judges*, these *Ship-Writs*, and this judgement, are those *carriages*, which have introduced this sense of the Commons, that the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme concerning our property and our persons are shaken.

My Lords, the Commons have taken the extra-judiciall opinions published and inrolled, and the rest severally into consideration, they

they have bin read openly in the house, and after long debate, and long rather in consideration of the greatnes of the matter then of the difficulty of it, they came to vote, foure severall votes passed upon them, the votes passed without so much as one negative voyce to any of them.

*The votes were in substance, that they were against the Lames of the Realme, the right of the property, the liberties of the subject, contrary to the former resolutions in Parliament, and to the petition of right.*

The extrajudiciall opinions inrolled, they voted in the whole, and every part of them to be contrary to all these, for they did conceive that in these opinions, there was not any one Clause that was agreeable to the Law, but that throughout they were contrary to the Lawes.

My Lords, the things which the Cōmons took into their cōsideration, before they proceeded to their votes, were the proceedings in the Parliamēt held 3<sup>rd</sup> Car. when the petition of right was framed.

The Cōmons went no higher, the reasons inducing them therto, was, because in that Parliament all those 3 had bin debated, property of goods, liberty of persons, and security of our lives.

Two of them, that is, *property of goods, and liberties of persons*, by the occasions of the Commissions for the loane, and the instruction where-with these Commissions were accompanied, that concerning our lives, by occasion of the Commissions that had issued, for the executory of Martiall Law.

They

They conceive that if any thing concerning these had passed *both Houses* and his *Majestie*, or the judgement of *both Houses*, without his *Majestie*, it would be in vaine to looke further, that it would be *utrum agere*; Nay my Lords they had a farther consideration, that if those were already settled in that *Parliament*, It would not onely be derogatory to the *Jurisdiction* of *Parliament*, but dangerous to look higher as that they would inferre a defect in those proceedings, and cast an aspersion upon that *Parliament*; I am commanded now to present to your *Lordships considerations*, those things which satisfie the *Commons*, which are these three.

1 The Commissions for the *loanes*, with the Instructions.

2 A Commission called the Commission of *Excise*.

3 An *Addition* of *Saving*, which was desired by your *Lordships* to have beene added to the Petition of right, at the time of the framing of it.

The case upon the Commission for the *Loane* standeth thus:

13. *Octobris* 3. *Caroli*, divers Commissions were directed to sundry Commissioners, to the number of sixty or seventy Lords and Gentlemen, in the severall Counties issued, whereby a compulsory ayde by way of *Loane* was required of the



Subject ; the causes and grounds of this Demand, are in the commissions expressed to be these.

The King found the Crowne engaged in a warre, by advise of *both houses in Parliament* ; that not onely the King and the Subject, but also his Allyes beyond Sea, were in danger.

The parts beyond-Sea where our cloth is vented, and from whence we have most of our provision for Shipping, were indangered ; His Majesties Treasures were exhausted and his coffers empty. A *Parliament* hath beene summoned ; but no supply.

Vnavoidable necessity both at home and abroad, multiplied the enemies : great and mighty preparations, both at Sea and Land, threatened the Kingdome daily.

Not onely the *Kings* honour, but the safety and very subsistence of the *King* and *people*, and of the true *Religion* abroad, are in apparant danger of suffering irreparably, unlesse not onely a speedy, but also a present stop be made ; which cannot admit so long delay as the calling of a *Parliament*, the *people* assured on the Royall Word of a *King*, that not one penny should be bestowed, but upon those publique services onely, wherein every of them, and the whole body of the Kingdome, their wives, children, and posterity, have their personall and common Interests.



The commissioners diligence commanded as they rendred the Kings honour, and safety of the *Realme*; Here *salus regni periclitabatur*, the whole Kingdome was in danger, as in the *Judges* opinions, and as in the Ship-writs and judgement in the Exchequer. Nay my Lords, further; the safety and very subsistence of the *King*, *People*, and true *Religion* were in danger of suffering irreparably, the dangerous instance, not a speedy, but a present stop must be made, the supply could not stay for a *Parliament*; at this time his *Majesties* coffers were exhausted, the King found the crowne engaged in this warre, before the Accessse of it to himselfe, and that by advice in *Parliament*; all this expressed, onely lending of monies for prevention required; but it was a compulsory thing and became compulsory, by the instructions to binde over to the boord, and imprisonment for refusall. These commissions were in the *Parliament* 3<sup>o</sup> *Car.* First resolved in the *Commons House* to bee against Law: afterwards by your *Lordships*, and consented unto by his *Majestie*, and are declared to be so in the Petition of right, and the imprisonment of the Subjects for refusall, declared in the Petition of right to be against Law.

*My Lords,*

The next is the commission called the commission of *Excise*, this was dated *ultimo*

*Febr.* it was dated after the Summons to that *Parliament*: This commission issued to 33. Lords, and others of his *Majesties* Privy Councill; the commissioners are thereby commanded to raise monies by Impositions, or otherwise; as in their judgements they shall finde to be most convenient.

The causes wherefore these monies are to be raised, are expressed to be these.

The defence and safety of the King and people, which without extreamest hazard of the King, Kingdome, and people; and of the Kings Friends and Allies beyond Seas, cannot admit no longer delay: inevitable necessity, wherein forme and circumstance must rather bee dispensed withall, than the substance lost.

The Commissioners not to faile therein, as they tendred his *Majesties* Honour, and the safety of the Kingdome and people.

Here *Salus Regni periclitabatur*, the whole Kingdome declared to be in danger, in greater and nearer, then in the opinions of the Ship-writs or Iudgements in the Chequer.

In the *Parliament* 3<sup>o</sup> *Caroli*, this commission was adjudged by the *Commons* to be against the Lawes of this Realme, and contrary to the Iudgement given in the Petition of right. and after a conference with your Lordships, desired his *Majestie* that it might be cancelled: The then Lord-Keeper shortly

shortly after brought it cancelled to your Lordships in the House, and there said it was cancelled in his *Majesties* presence: you sent it cancelled to the *Commons*, to be viewed, who afterwards sent it back to your Lordships.

*My Lords*, The last is the addition of saving, desired to be added to the Petition of right, which was in these words.

We humbly present this Petition vnto your *Majestie*, not onely with a care of preserving our owne Liberties, but with due regard to leave entire the Sovereaign power, wherewith your *Majestie* is trusted; for the Protection, safety, and happinesse of your people: Your *Lordships* desire of this Addition to the petition of right, was taken into consideration by the *Commons*; and after debate, it was thought fit by them to be rejected. A conference was had with your *Lordships*, and Master *Noy* appointed by the *Commons* to declare the reasons of their resolution; your *Lordships* not receiving satisfaction at that conference, whether this Addition should be rejected or not: It was again debated in the *Commons house*, they ventured vpon the same bottome againe; It was thereupon resolved to be rejected, the reasons of their rejections were these in summe.

First, they confesse that if these words were taken as a bare proposition only, without any further reverence to the petition of

right, that it was a true proposition.

That is, that the Law hath trusted the King with Sovereign power for the protection, safety, and happinesse of the people.

But if it should bee added to the Petition of right, as was desired; then was it not true, but would make the Petition of right *felo de se*, and wholly destructive to it selfe in all the parts of it; that it would proceed *a bene divisis, ad mala conjuncta*: for then the petition of right, as they resolved, would have this sense.

Whereas in the petition of right, it is said, that no ayd, tax, tallage, or other charge whatsoever, may be imposed upon the people, without their free consent in *Parliament*; it would have this construction. Its true, it cannot be done by the Kings ordinary power, but it may be done by that Sovereigne power wherewith the Law hath intrusted his *Majestie* for the protection, safety, and happinesse of the people.

So likewise for imprisonment, that they ought not to bee imprisoned without due processe of Law. It is true ordinarily, that the King may imprison by his Sovereigne power, wherewith the Law hath intrusted him for the protection, safety, and happinesse of the people.

So that, for that Marriall Law, that the Subjects lives ought not to bee taken away, unlesse by due processe of Law, it's true ordinarily,

dinarily, but the King may doe it by his Sovereigne power, wherewith the Law hath intrusted him for the protection, safety, and happinesse of the people : whereby they conceived that it would not onely make the petition of right to bee wholly destructive of it selfe, but likewise this petition of right would leave the Subject in a far worse condition than it found them ; for it would necessarily inferre, that which is against the Law : *vis.* that the King by his soveraigne power, when he pleased to declare that it was for the good of the people, might doe all this.

Your *Lordships* at a conference of both *Houses*, engaged on the part of the *commons* by Serjant *Glanville*, and Sir *Henry Martin*, received satisfaction from these reasons; and consented to the leaving out of this Addition ; and accordingly, the petition of right passed, and is printed without it.

*My Lords*, these were the things I was commanded to present vnto your *Lordships*: other things there were, as the sentence against Bishop *Manwaring*; but these weighed so much with the *Commons*, as that they conceived they needed no more.

*My Lords*, these presidents of that *Parliament*, and these opinions of the *Judges*, the *Shipwrits*, and the *Judgements* in the *Exchequer* ; they are like the two Buckets of a Well, if one goe up, the other must goe downe :

downe : *Non bene conveniunt.*

*My Lords*, wee have not cired these precedents out of diffidence, that your *Lordships* had forgotten them ; but because others have ; or that wee distrust your *Lordships*, Iustice, if you had forgot them : for before these were, your *Lordships* concurred in opinion with your worthy Ancestours, that first gave them. Their Noble blood runnes in your veynes. It's now to confirme your owne Iudgements as well as theirs : In your *Lordships* breasts, there are the same Magazines and Fountaines of Honour and Iustice, as was then, these Iudgements and proceedings were the actions of *both houses*, the danger by the violation is equall.

The *Commons* see nothing in the *Judges* opinions or judgement, why they should recede from their former judgements, they hope the same from your *Lordships*.

Besides, *my Lords*, that the cause is now much varied from what it was then; not only in the matter, but as it concerns the Honour and Iurisdiction of this Iudicatory, the *Parliament*.

The breack of *Priviledges* in the members is tenderly presented, because that without this freedome, they cannot advise and consult concerning the *Ardua Regni*.

But when they have done all to have their judgements, and their Acts of *Parliament* overthrowne by the *Judges* afterwards, this makes

makes *Parliaments* to be nothing, this sets up the *Judges* above the *Parliament*, this puts us out of hope of redresse; if they may overthrow the proceedings of that *Parliament* of 3<sup>rd</sup> *Caroli*, they may by the same reason overthrow the *Actions* of this, and of all future *Parliaments*.

My Lords, this was not the practise of their predeceffours, though but in private causes; if difficulty of *Law* arose, they alwaies consulted this Oracle, and thence received their answer how to give judgement. *Judgements* in the highest Court of *Westminster Hall*, I meane in the *Kings Bench*; where the proceedings are (*coram Rege*) are here reverlable by *Writ of Error*. In causes of great and generall concernment, they ever adorned them hither as things too high for them.

*Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat*, doth well, they have taken that in their hands they had not to doe withall; and how they have handled the matter, your *Lordships* have heard.

The judges, as is declared in the *Parliament*, they have here made themselves the *Execu*tioners of them; they have endeavoured the destruction of the *Fundamentals* of our *Lawes* and *Liberties*. *Holland* in the *Low-countries* lyes under the *Sea*, the superficies of the *Land* is lower then the superficies of the *Sea*: It's capitall therefore for

*Role of nro. Rich. 2. are the Executors of the Statutes and of the Judgements, & Ordinances of Parliament they have here made.*



any man to cut the Bankes, because they defend the Countrey.

Besides our owne, even forraine Authors as *Comineus* observes, that the Statutes de *Tallagio*, and other Lawes, are the Sea walls, and bankes, which keepe the commons from the inundation of the Prerogative.

These Pioners, they have not onely undermined these Bankes, but they have levelled them even with the ground.

If one that was known to be *hostis Patriæ*, had done this, though the damage be the same, yet the guilt is lesse.

But the *Conservatores riparum*, the Overseers intrusted with the defence of these bankes, for them to destroy them, the breach of trust aggravates, nay alters the nature of the offence.

Breach of trust, though in a private person, and in the least things, is odious amongst all men; much more in a publicke person, and in things of great and publick concernment, because great trust binds the party trusted to greatest care and fidelity.

It's Treason in the Constable of *Dover Castle* to deliver the Keyes, to the knowne enemies of the Kingdome; because that Castle is the Key of the Kingdome: whereas if the house-keeper of a private person, deliver possession to his Adversary; it's a crime scarce punishable by Law.

The Judges under his Majesty, are the persons

sons trusted with the Lawes ; and in them, with the lives, liberties, and estates of the whole Kingdome : This trust of all we have, is primarily in his *Majesty* ; and from him delegated to his *Iudges*.

His *Majesty*, at his Coronation, is bound by his Oath to execute Iustice to his people, according to his lawes ; thereby to assure the people of the faithfull performance of this great trust. His *Majestie* againe, as he trusts the *Iudges* with the performance of this part of the Oath : so doth he likewise exact another Oath of them for their due execution of Iustice to the people according to the Lawes ; hereby the *Iudges* stand intrusted with this part of his *Majesties* Oath.

If therefore the *Iudges* shall doe wittingly against Law, they doe not onely breake their oathes, and therein the common faith and trust of the whole Kingdome, but doe as much as in them lyes, smeere and blemish the sacred person of his *Majestie* ; with the odious and hatefull sinne of perjury.

For *My Lords*, the haynousnes of this offence is most legible in the severe punishments, which former ages have inflicted upon those *Iudges*, who have broken any part of their oathes wittingly, though in things not so dangerous to the Subject, as in this case in question.

Sir Thomas Walsland chiefe Iustice of the

*Common Pleas. Edw. 1.* was attainted of Felony for taking Bribes, and his lands and goods forfeited; as appears in the Pleas of Parliament, 18. *Ed. 1.* and hee was banished the Kingdome as unworthy to live in that State, against which hee had so much offended.

Sir William Thorpe chiefe justice of the Kings Bench, in *Ed. 3<sup>d</sup>*. time, having of five persons received five severall bribes, which in all amounted to 100. pounds; was for this alone adjudged to be hanged, and all his lands and goods forfeited, the reason of this judgement is entred in the Roll in these words.

*Quia predictus willelmus Thorpe, qui sacramentum Domini Regis erga Populum suum habuit, ad custodiendum, fregit malitiose, false, & rebelliter quantum in ipso fuit; because that hee, as much as in him lay, had broken the Kings Oath made unto the people, which the King had intrusted him withall.*

There is this notable Declaration in that Judgement; that is, that this Judgement was not to be drawne into example, against any other Officers who should breake their Oathes, but onely against those *Qui predictum sacrum fecerunt, & pregerunt, & habent leges Anglia ad custodiendum; that is, onely to the Judges oathes, who have the Lawes intrusted to them.*

This judgement was given 24. *Ed. 3.* the next

next yeare in the *Parliament* 25. *Ed.* 3<sup>d</sup>. it was debated in *Parliament*, whether this judgment was legall : & *nullo contradicente*, it was declared to be just, and according to the Law : And that the same judgment may be given in time to come upon the like occasion. This case is in point, that it's death for any Iudge wittingly to breake his Oath, or any part of it.

This oath of *Thorpe* is entred into the Roll, and is the same *verbatim* with the *Judges* Oath, in 18. *Ed.* 3<sup>d</sup>. and the same which the *Judges* now take.

Your Lordships will give me leave to observe the differences betweene that and the case in question.

First, that of *Thorpe* was onely a selling of the Law, by retayle to those five persons, for he had onely five severall bribes of those five persons: the passage of the Law to the rest of the subjects, for ought appeares, was free and open.

But these opinions are a conveyance of the Law by whole sale, and that not to, but from the Subject.

In that of *Thorpe*, as to those five persons, it was not an absolute denyall of Justice, it was not a damming up, but a streightning onely of the Channell.

For whereas the Iudge ought *Iudicium reddere*, that is, the Law being the Birth-right

right and Inheritance of the Subject, the Judge when the parties, in suite demand judgement should *redere*, freely restore this right unto them; now he doth not *dare* but *vendere* with the hazard onely of perverting Iustice; for the party that buyes the judgement may have a good and honest cause.

But these opinions besides that they have cost the Subjects very deare, dearer than any; nay I thinke I may truly say, then all the unjust Iudgements that ever yet have beene given.

Witnesse the many hundred thousand pounds, which under Colour of them have beene levyed upon the Subject, amounting to seven hundred thousand pounds and upwards in money payed unto the Treasurer of the Navy; besides what the Subjects have beene forced to pay to Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and others, which altogether as is conceived amounts not to much lesse than a Million: besides the infinite vexation of the Subjects by suits in Law, binding them over to attendance at the Counsell-board, taking of them from their necessary employments in making of Assesses, and collections, and imprisonments of their persons.

I say, my Lords, besides what is past to make our miseries compleate, they have

as much as in them lyes, made them endlesse ; for by these opinions they have put vpon themselves and their successors an impossibility of ever doing us right againe, and an incapacity vpon us of demanding it so long as they continue.

*My Lords*, in that sore Famine in the Land of *Egypt*, when the Inhabitants were reduced to the next doore to death ; for there they say, *Why should wee dye for bread*. First they gave their money, next their flocks and cattell ; and last of all, their persons and their Lands, for bread, and all became *Pharaohs* ; but by this *Lex Regia*, there is a transaction made ; not onely of our persons, but of our bread likewise, where with our persons should be sustained. That was for bread, this is of our bread. For, *my Lords*, since these opinions (if we have any thing at all) we are not at all beholding to the Law, for it, but are wholly cast vpon the mercy and goodnesse of the King.

Againe, there the *Egyptians* themselves sold themselves and all they had to the Kings ; if ours had beene so done, if it had been done by our owne free consent in *Parliament*, we had the lesse cause to complaine ; but it was done against our wils, and by those who were trusted, and that upon oath ; with the preservation of those things for us.

*My Lords*, the Lawes are our Forts and Bulwarks

Bulwarks of defence, if the Capesine of a Castle, onely through feare and cowardise, and not from any complience with the enemy, surrender it; this is Treason as was adjudged in the Parliament, 1. Rich. 3<sup>d</sup>. in the two cases of *Grimes and Weston*, and in the case of the Lord *Gray*, for surrendring of *Barwicke* Castle to the *Scots* in *Edw. 3<sup>d</sup>*. time, though good defence have beene made by him, and thar hee lost his eldest Sonne in maintenance of the Seige; and yet the losse of a Castle loseth not a Kingdome onely, but the place and adjacent parts, without trouble to the whole.

But by these opinions there is a surrender made of all Legall defence of propriety, that which hath bin preached, is now judged, that there is no *meum & tuum* between the King and the people, besides that which concernes our persons.

*My Lords*, the Law, it is the Temple, the Sanctuary whither the Subject is to runne for shelter and refuge: hereby it is become *Templum sine numine* as was the Temple built by the *Roman Emperour* who after hee had built it, put no gods into it.

Wee have the letter of the Law still, but not the sense.

We have the Fabricke of the Temple still, but the goddesses, the *Dij-Tutelares* are gone.  
But



But my Lords, this is not all the case (that is) that the Law now ceaseth to ayd and defend us in our rights, for then possession alone were a good title, if there were no Law to take it away, *occupanti concederetur & melior esset possidentis conditio*. But this (though too bad) is not the worst; for besides that which is privative in these opinions, there is somewhat positive: For now the Law doth not onely not defend us, but the Law it selfe is made the instrument of taking all away.

For whensoever his Majestie or his Successors shall be pleased to say that the good and safety of the Kingdome is concerned, and that the whole Kingdome is in danger: Then when and how the same is to be prevented, makes our persons and all we have lyable to beare will and pleasure.

By this means, the Sanctuary is turned into a Shambles, the Forts are not slighted, that so they might neither doe us good or hurt: But they are held against us by those who ought to have held them for us, and the mouth of our own Cannon is turned upon our selves.

My Lords, in these expressions, there is no reflexion upon his Majestie. It is onely that these Iudges would have forced upon the Law an unnaturall and contrary motion, his Majesties carriage in the businesse cleers his justice.

The first opinion of the Iudges under their hands, was procured by my Lord *Finches* sollicitation only, and by him brought to his Majestie.

These opinions procured the letter from his Majesty for the opinions inrolled, wherein as likewise in the Case in the Chequer, the Iudges were left free, as was acknowledged by two of the Iudges in the Chequer Chamber, who argued against those opinions, with this protestation. That if there were any miscarriages in that busines, it might fall wholly upon themselves, that the King was blamelesse.

My Lords, wee know his Majesties Iustice is the fairest, the richest Diamond in his Crowne, the dust which these men would have blowne, and forc'd upon it, its false short, and with your Lordships helping hands, it will we hope, be cast upon their owne faces, a fitter place for it then the other.

My Lords, the oaths of the Iudges as they binde them to the due administration of justice to the Subjects according to the Lawes, so as they bee of the Kings Councell, by their oaths, they are bound lawfully to councell him, that is, when their opinions are demanded, they are to deliver them according to the Law.

I shall therefore put your Lordships in mind of the memorable proceedings against these Iudges, who have broken this part of their oath in that noble Parliament, held the eleventh of *Richard* the second.

In this Parliament, judgment of high treason was given against eighteen severall persons, and all (save one of them) of eminent rank, three Privy Counsellours, the Archbishop of

*York,*

*Yorke*, the Duke of *Ireland*, and Earle of *Suffolk*, the Bishop of *Exeter*, the Kings Confessor, five Knights, some whereof had been servants to *Edward* the third, and all save one, servants to the then King, and some of them of noble Descent, six Judges, *Lockton* the Kings Serjeant at Law, *Blake* of the Kings Councell at Law, and *Uste* the Vnder-Sheriff of *Middlesex*: of these eightene, eight were executed that is, Sir *Robert Tresilian* the chiefe Iustice, five Knights, *Blake* of the Kings Councell at Law, and *Uste* the Vnder-Sheriffe, three, that is, the Archbishop of *Yorke*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Earle of *Suffolk* fled.

The rest had their lives pardoned, but were banished, their Lands and Goods forfeited, and little pensions allowed them during their lives: It was made felony for any one to procure their pardons, and they to be dealt with all as Traytors, if they returned from their banishment: and of those eightene persons all save three were impeached by the Commons.

The Offences which procured these exemplary punishments, although their proceedings be long and comprehended all that was done in this Parliament, Ile briefly open them to your Lordships. During the Minority of that King by ill Councell of some neere his person: there were miscarriages in government. In the tenth yeare of his Reigne, and the twentieth of his age, a Parliament was holden, in that Parliament in aid of good government, and of due execution of the Lawes, a Commis-

sion was awarded to 12 severall Peers, & others of greatest wisdom and fidelity, the Commissioners had power in all things concerning the household, Courts of Justice, and the Revenues; in a word, in all things concerning the Good of the Realme, with full power finally to determine and put in execution for the honour of the King, the better governance of the Peace, and Laws of the Realm, & reliefe of the people.

This Commission was to endure one year, at the yeares end the King would be of full age.

My Lords, the endeavouring to overthrow this Commission issued by Authoritie of Parliament, for the welfare of the Realme, upon pretence that it trenched upon the Royall power, tended to the disherison of the King, and derogation of the Crowne, together with the destruction of the Commissioners who procured it, and put the same in execution, upon pretence that they and some others had in Parliament forced the Royall assents.

My Lords, the conspiring to overthrow this Commission, and the procurers of it, is the case in brieve, for although there be divers other Articles against many of them, yet this was the ground-work of all, and this singly and alone is declared in all the proceedings in that Parliament to be Treason. Of these 18 persons condemned, five of them were plotters (*vizt.*) the Archbishop, Duke of Ireland, Earle of Suffolk, *Trisilian* the chiefe Justice, and Sir *Nicholas Bramber*; these insinuated into the King, that this Commission was in diminution of his  
 Kingly

Kingly power, that the Procurers of it had extorted his Royall assent, and that this was Treason: thereupon *Blake* one of the Kings Counsell at Law was advised withall, who declared his opinion, that it was Treason, he was commanded to prepare an Inditement of Treason against the Commissioners, and some of the Procurers of it, who had been Active therein.

The Inditement was drawne by him, which is entred in the Role; and is to this effect.

That they had trayterously conspired amongst themselves in the Parliament, to make this Commission by authoritie of Parliament against the Regalitie of the King to his Dishonour and Derogation of the Crowne, that they compelled the Kings consent, and that they confederated and bound themselves to maintaine one another in so doing.

It was intended that they should be tried upon this Inditement in Middlesex or in London, *vske* the Vnder-Sheriffe of Middlesex was acquainted with the businesse, who was to prepare things for the effecting of this Design, some of the parties to be indited, not being Peeres, which he performing accordingly, was therefore executed.

The five plotters, that the King might the more confide in their Counsells (for so are the words of the Record) and that under the colour of Law they might cover their malice from the King, and the Kingdome, before the triall was to be had, they advise the King to demand the

opinion of some of the Judges, that is of the two Chiefe Iustices, and Chiefe Baron, the Judges of the Common Pleas, six in number, and of *Lofton* the Kings Serjeant, *Blacke* of the Kings Counsell at Law was commanded to draw up these questions for the Judges opinions who did it accordingly.

For the drawing up of these questions, and the Inditement, *Blacke* was condemned and executed.

The question being drawne into writing, the Iudges were sent for to *Nottingham* Castle, where, in the Kings presence they were commanded upon their allegiance to deliver their opinions.

1 The first question was whether the Commission was in derogation of the Crowne, they answered that it was.

2 The second question was whether the perswading and urging the Kings consent in Parliament thereto was Treason, they answered, that it was, though there were some other questions asked, all concerning Parliamentary proceedings, yet these were the maine, and those for which they were condemned, as appeares, by the replication of the Commons to the Iudges answer, and by the words of the judgment (*viz.*) that they knew that this Commission was awarded in Parliament, that it was for the publike good, that they knew of the trayterous intents to destroy the Procurors of this Commission, that they knew the Law,  
and



and that it was not Treason, and had delivered their opinions thereby under colour of Law, to cover their treasonable intent, and therefore judgement of treason was given against them and against *Latton* the Kings Serjeant at Law, who had subscribed the opinions with the Judges.

1 Sir *Simon Burley*, one of the five Knights that were executed, was condemned onely for conspiring the death of the Procurors of this Commission, and although there be other Articles against the rest, yet this alone is adjudged Treason in the severall judgements against every one of the eightene.

1 My Lords, it is observable in all these judgements, that they are adjudged Traytors, as well against the person of the King as against the Common-wealth.

2 Secondly, it is there declared upon great advice taken, that in Treasons which concerne the King and Kingdome, they are not bound to proceed according to the rules of the Common Law and inferiour Courts, but according to the course of Parliaments, so as may bee for the common good.

3 Thirdly, Iudgement was given in Parliament, and execution awarded, and afterwards a Bill of Confirmation passed, in respect of their Lands, to give them from a day past, and for declaration that this should bee no president to inferiour Courts to adjudge the same Cases Treason, save onely in Parliament.

These



These judgements were not huddled up in haste, but they were given upon long and mature deliberation; these judgements were the whole worke of that Parliament, and the proceedings against the five plotters were begun the fourteenth of *November*, and the judgments were not given till the thirteenth of *February* following, which was a quarter of a yeare: And is declared in the Roll, that they spent a long time, and took great pains to examine the Evidences, the better thereby to satisfie their own consciences, and the World.

I insist the more upon this to take away all blemish from these proceedings.

It is true my Lords, these judgements were afterwards in the Parliament of 21. R. 2. revoked and made voyd.

But my Lords, that Parliament of 21. R. 2. of Revocation was held by force, as it is declared in the Parliament Rols of 1. H. 4. Nov. 21. & 22. that it was held *vis armatis, & sagittariis immensis.*

The Knights of Parliament were not elected by the Commons, *Pro meos exigit, sed per regiam voluntatem*; and so the Lords, *summoneri fecit Rex. Dominos sibi adherentes.*

My Lords, by these proceedings, it doth appear, that this Parliament of Revocation was no free Parliament, if at all it deserve the name of a Parliament, but to put all out of doubt, the Parliament of 1. H. 4. No. 48. these judgements of Revocation are declared to be *inane, iniqua*

*iniqua & contra iurē & rationē repugnante*; erroneous, wicked and contrary to all right and reason; and in the Parliament of 1. Henry 4. in print these Attainders are confirmed: so that these judgements of Attainder have the authority of two Acts of Parliament both of them of force at this day.

Your Lordships will give mee leave to observe the differences and agreement, betwene the offences of those, and of the present Judges, and as well in the way and manner of procurement, as in the matter of them: for the manner of procurement, those Judges in Ric. 2. time were in the Kings presence, and as it is in the Parliament Roll of 1. Hen. 4. Nov. 12. they were *violenter arreſti*, violently drawn to deliver their opinions, and that *contra iurē & conscientias corporis*, for the feare of death and torments of their bodies; and at their tryals severally, they say, that in part violence had beene offered to their persons, because they had differed in the delivery of their opinions. My Lords, this was such a miscarriage in the Judges, these circumstances considered, as might *cadere in vicium fortis & consuetudinis*, but my Lords, feare or cowardize, is no plea for delivering up of the Forts and Bulwarks of the Kingdome.

But in the present businesse, there is none of all this, it came from within, there is no outward force: In those of Ric. 2. it was *Actum unicus*, once done at Nottingham Castle, if the

Judges had been put to it the second time, perhaps the rest as well as some of them had repented, and would not have done it over again: for *Belknap* the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the same day declared his sorrow, and said, that there now remain'd nothing but a Horse, a Hurdle, and a Halter; & *Fulthorpe* another of them the next day declared his grief, for what he had done. But here after the opinion in *November 1635*, a yeare after, *viz. 1636*, they proceed *a pessimo ad pejus pessimo*, for that was with additions, most of them declared their opinions in their Circuits, and a yeare after confirmed it againe by the Indictment in the Exchequer, here it was done yeare after yeare in cold blood: one murderous blow, whereupon death follows, is Felony, but to multiply Wounds upon the dead body, and to come again in coole blood to do it, it shews the height of malice. In these two things they agree.

I That which the Judges did in *Richard* the seconds time, they did it against their own knowledge, they knew the Commission was done by Act of Parliament; so here they knew the Petition of Right damn'd the Commissions of Loines, a stronger Case then that, they subscribed many of them, knew that the Commission of Excise was damn'd in Parliament, they knew the other proceedings in Parliaments, and if they had forgotten them, they were afterwards put in minde of them, they needed not to have consulted with Bookes and Journals

Journals of Parliaments, saying only with their own memories.

They agree in this, that their opinions tended to the subversion of the Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome, for in that of *Richard 2.* the offence was, the endeavouring to overthrow Parliaments, and Parliamentary proceedings, the conspiracie of the death of the procurers was only an aggravation. It was not Treason to conspire the death of a Privy Councillour, or to kill a Iudge, unlesse hee bee upon the Bench, and in that case it is Treason, because of the malice, not of the person, but to the Law; so that there the Treason lay in this, not that they conspired barely against their persons: But with reference to their proceedings in Parliament, & therby to overthrow the Acts of Parliamt, wherein these persons had been principall Actors. But in this againe they disagree, for in that case there was onely a Conspiracie, no death followed to the Procurers of the Commission, nor was the Commission overthrowne, all that was done, was only this, that a Warrant was directed to the Lord *Maior of London*, for apprehending their persons to bring them to triall, which yet was not done. But here (after the opinions delivered) judgement was afterwards given by them in the Exchequer, and execution awarded thereupon; for so much as concerns our property.

And likewise in the Kings Bench, where the judgments after the judgements in the Exche-

quer refused to heare any more debate of the matter, and so for the liberty of our persons by keeping divers of the subjects in prison, term after term, for not paying Ship-money, and other things depending upon those opinions, when they had been brought before them upon their *Habeas Corpus*.

In that of *Art. 2.* it was for overthrowing but of one Act of Parliament, which was likewise introductive of a new Law, for the Commission had no rise from the Comm Law, for in truth it was derogatorie to the Crown: It had only the strength of the Parliament to support it, which was sufficient, it was for the common good.

But here the endeavour was at once not to blow up one Act of Parliament, but all; and these not introductive, but declaratory of the Common Law, as was the Petition of Right, the Statutes there mentioned, & the Resolutions.

That of *Art. 1.* Was but the blowing up of the upper Deck, this of the Common Law, and the Statutes too, and the old foundations and the structures built upon them altogether.

In that of *Art. 2.* it was only to overthrow a Temporary Act of Parliament, that was to continue no longer then one year; but this to make an eternal devastation (for *saecula quædam*) to the Worlds end, as his Majestie or his Successors shall say, that the Kingdome is in danger, may these opinions bee put in execution, and likewise they are enrolled in all the Courts

of Westminster Hall in presence of your Honorables.  
 The sin against the Holy Ghost is therefore unpardonable, because it takes from the party repentance, the meanes of pardon; to put us therefore into a Case of desperation. Some of these have publicly and upon the Bench declared, that this prerogative is so inherent in the Crown, as that it cannot be taken away by Act of Parliament.

As they have put an impossibility upon themselves, so would they put an impossibility upon his Majestie, your Lordships & the whole Parliament, for ever righting us again.

My Lords, *contraria iustis se posita magis elucescunt*, I have presented your Lordships with the obliquity of the ill Judges in this time, giving leave to present your Lordships with one example of a contrary nature. And this was in Queene Elizabeths time, in the 19. yeare of her Majesties Reign: She creates a new office in the Common Pleas, for the making of *subpoenas* on *Exigents* that issued thereby. Shee grants it to Richard Cavendish, her servant, sends to have him admitted, but the Judges delay the doing of it for this reason, because the Prothonotaries and Phillizers claymed the making of those Writs: The Queen sends a sharp Letter, and commands them forthwith to admit him, yet the Judges forbear: the Queen sends a sharper Letter, commanding them to shew the Reasons of their contem and disobedience to the then Lord keeper, and the Earle



Earle of Leicester, no meane men in those dayes, the Iudges deliver their Reasons why they had refused, and it was because others claymed the making of those Writts.

The *Queene* sends a fourth peremptory message for their admitting him with this Reason, that if the others were put out, they were rich and able men, and that her Courts of Iustice were open where they might demand their Rights.

This was not to take away the right, but to put them to their Action.

The Iudges humbly returned this answer, that the *Queene* had taken her Oath for the due execution of Iustice, according to the Law, that they did not doubt, but that when her Majestic was inform'd, that it was against Law, shee would doe what befitted her; for their parts they had taken an oath to God, to her & the Common-wealth, and if they should doe it without proceffe of Law, before them, and onely upon her command, put the other out of possession, though the right remained to them, it were a breach of their Oathes, and therefore if the feare of God were not sufficient, they told her the punishment that was inflicted, upon their predecessors for breach of their oaths: (citing these of *Thorpe* of Ric. 2. time) that they might be sufficient warning to them: the *Queen* hearing of these Reasons was satisfied, and the Iudges heard no more of the businesse.

These Iudges have had examples of both kinds

*This remains  
under the  
hands of An-  
derson the  
Lord Chiefe  
Iustice in a  
Booke of his  
Reports.*



kinds before them, they might have chosen the good and refused the bad.

My Lords:

Besides these Iudgements and opinions the Commons will in due time bring up these Iudges with their other Iudgements, *Corpora cum causis*, for your Lordships will easily conceive, that they who have done this have done more; the principall of them, I meane my Lord Keeper, stands accused before your Lordships of High Treason: Hee is not heere, Iustice goes *pede lento, sed certo*, it will overtake him at the last.

The next step that is making after him, are the Articles of his impeachment, which with your Lordships patience are now ready to be opened and delivered to your Lordships.

**FINIS.**